

# The Herald of Freedom.

LAWRENCE, K. T.

Saturday Morning, Dec. 26, 1857.

**ANTI-USURPATION TICKET.**  
FOR GOVERNOR  
**GEORGE W. SMITH, of Lawrence.**  
FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR  
**WM. Y. ROBERTS, of Wyandott.**  
FOR SECRETARY OF STATE  
**P. C. SCHUYLER, of Burlingame.**  
FOR STATE TREASURER  
**ANDREW J. MEAD, of Manhattan.**  
FOR STATE AUDITOR  
**JOEL K. GOODIN, of Centropolis.**  
FOR CONGRESS  
**MARCUS J. PARROTT, of Kansas.**

## Anti-Usurpation Platform.

Whereas, the late Constitutional Convention, assembled at Leavenworth, framed a Constitution and attempted to force it on the people, unsubmitted, in violation of the rights and known wishes of an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Kansas;

Whereas, an election for State officers and members of the Legislature, as provided for in the Schedule of said Constitution, takes place on the 4th of January next; and

Whereas, it is possible Congress may admit Kansas as a State under that Constitution, so unsubmitted for acceptance or rejection by the people; therefore

**Resolved,** That we, the people of Kansas in favor of voting for State officers and Members of the Legislature, on the 4th of January next, in Convention assembled at Lawrence on the 24th of December, 1857, conceive it to be the duty of the residents of the Territory who are opposed to this attempted usurpation to throw aside for the present all party affiliations and merge all party interests in the one absorbing issue, and to unite with us in the support of a State ticket to be nominated by this Convention.

**Resolved,** That we call on the people of the several districts, as designated by that Constitution to nominate and vote for Senators and Representatives under it.

**Resolved,** That the candidates, nominated by this convention, on accepting such nomination, will be considered as pledged, should the Constitution be approved by Congress, to adopt and execute immediate measures for enabling the people, through a new Constitutional Convention to obtain such a Constitution as the majority shall approve.

**Resolved,** That should Congress admit Kansas as a State under that unsubmitted Constitution; it will commit a gross infraction of the organic law, and of the rights of the people.

## ADDRESS

Of the Anti-Usurpation Central Committee. To the People of Kansas.

As the Central Committee, appointed by a Mass Convention of the people of Kansas assembled at Lawrence on the 24th December, 1857, who are opposed to the late Convention, and in favor of action for the preservation of our rights, we address you.

We fear that the administration has power to force us into the Union under the unsubmitted Constitution lately framed at Leavenworth. With all the opposition it has met, both within and without the ranks of the National Democracy, it may be fastened upon us. The Executive patronage is not yet distributed; and past experience proves that, with the spoils, the will of the Executive may be made the law of Congress. The opponents of that Constitution are writing to us from all parts of our Country, that it is yet doubtful whether it will be rejected by Congress; and they advise us to trust to none but ourselves, and to fight the usurpers at the ballot box.

If we let the election for officers under the Constitution on the 4th of January next, go by default, and Kansas be admitted under it, we lend aid and comfort to those who seek to trample on our rights, and become the instruments of our own subjugation. We lie down inactive, while our chains are forged and fastened. And, however vigorous or violent our resistance may then be, it will be vain. We lose two, U. S. Senators, one for three and the other for six years, a Representative in Congress, the Legislature, and all the State officers; and more than this, we lose the means of governing ourselves, so long as the usurpers frame laws or concoct schemes to defraud us. And if we rise up in resistance to such a Government, we may be crushed by the arm of Federal authority.

What can we lose by voting? Nothing. It is said, if we go into the election we will be defeated by invasion or official fraud. Possibly we may. But, if we do not go into it, shall we not be defeated, without invasion and without fraud? It is said, that by voting for officers under it we will give implied sanction to the Constitution, and that Congress may act on that sanction. We do not think so. An implied indifference might, with more plausible sophistry, be argued from our

abstaining from the polls. But, in fact, no such implication of consent or indifference to that Constitution can honestly be drawn from action or inaction at this election. For, Congress has the most abundant evidence that an overwhelming majority, representing every shade of political sentiment, would regard an act admitting us under that unsubmitted Constitution as an act of oppression and tyranny. It is said, finally, that the support of officers under this Constitution would be an abandonment of principles and past policy. Policy must change with changing events—Principles never! And every man opposed to the subjugation of the people, by a faction so feeble in numbers as not to rise to the dignity of a party, should unite in this effort to destroy the power of the usurpers, and to enable the people to frame and adopt a Constitution such as the majority shall approve. Such effort involves no sacrifice of principle.

We believe that everything may be lost, and nothing can be gained, by a policy of inaction; and therefore call on the people of Kansas to vote at the coming election. The Convention to nominate candidates for State officers, have nominated men who are hostile to the Leavenworth usurpation, and appeal to the sober thought of the people to sustain them. And we call upon them in their several districts to nominate candidates for the State Legislature; to put their shoulders to the work; and to overthrow the usurpers ere they be fastened upon us.

By order of the Convention,  
S. N. WOOD, Chairman.  
G. W. BROWN,  
E. S. LOWMAN,  
ROBT. MORROW,  
E. HEATH,  
WM. AUSTIN,  
O. F. SHORT,  
JUDGE PASSMORE,  
A. DANFORD,  
JAMES DAVIS,  
J. F. CURRIER,  
JUDGE McKAY,  
DR. GILPATRICK,  
C. V. ESKRIDGE,  
JAS. ROBERTS,  
S. D. HOUSTON,  
D. H. WIEN, Secretary.

**Mass Convention.**  
The invitation of the Territorial Executive Committee, for a Mass Convention, to assemble at Lawrence on the 23d inst, was responded to by a large number of citizens. It was organized immediately after the adjournment of the Delegate Convention, by the appointment of Judge G. W. SMITH as chairman, with G. W. BROWN and NORMAN ALLEN as Secretaries.

On motion a committee of five consisting of J. P. Root, Chas. Stearns, S. N. Wood, A. D. Richardson, and Dr. Davis, was appointed.

An animated discussion followed: Thomas Ewing, Jr., Esq., of Leavenworth, was invited to speak. He said he was not a delegate, but a look-oner. His views would probably all accord with those of a great majority of the Convention; but he would speak his mind, his or mis, and claim free speech in free Kansas. He had differed radically with the Free State party in the spring, and had been for voting then, and did vote.—He was for voting now. He was for action, and opposed to inaction. The policy of inaction will destroy us. It will lose us our cause, and the respect of our friends in the States. They will tell us we should have fought through the ballot box.

He was apprehensive we would be admitted under the Leavenworth Constitution. Since the days of General Jackson, the Federal Executive has almost uniformly carried through Congress any measure it adopted. Should Mr. Buchanan determine to force this measure through Congress, he can do it. The spoils are not yet distributed. Many bolters from the administration will be drawn into rank by the attraction of public plunder. And Douglas will fall with his co-adjutors, as the stubborn oak before the storm.

The only policy is to go into the election for State officers. Every resident can vote. The opponents of the Leavenworth party are in a majority of at least 12,000. The plea that we cannot have a fair election is pusillanimous. The Territorial officers, aided by a civil posse can arrest and punish fraudulent voters. And, if the people are determined, the laws can not be overridden.—If we vote, we can be defeated only by official fraud. If so defeated, we can stand firmer than now. If we carry the State officers, and Congress admits us, the Governor can at once assemble the Legislature, which will call a new Convention to frame and submit to the people a new Constitution; and no power outside the State can call in question the validity of the Constitution when so framed, submitted and ratified.

It will be objected, that this is an abandonment of past policy and past resolutions. It is no change of principle, but of the mode of carrying it out. The principle is, the Constitution must represent the will of the people. With the

shifting of events, the mode of action must change, or fail. Do not sacrifice your rights to the consistency of your leaders.

There is but one course suggested other than that of voting. It is to set up an independent Government. That is *Rebellion*. That man is mad who advises this as a mode of redress for grievances which can be redressed at the ballot-box. It would inevitably fail, and involve us in ruin. Look at the past attempts at rebellion in this country—and remember how the nullifiers went down, and how the whiskey insurrectionists were put down. We may profit by their example. Talk not of friends from abroad who promise to come and fight—they are summer friends. The troops designed for Utah will stop in Kansas; and instead of going to Leavenworth to see them parade, in all the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," you will have to meet the federal bayonets and fall before them in utter and hopeless defeat. The only mode of opposing this Leavenworth Constitution from which we can or ought to hope anything is the lawful mode. Let us go into the election for State officers.—Let our platform be, *THE PEOPLE AGAINST USURPATION*. We can vindicate our sovereignty at the ballot box. As Americans, as men of sense and patriotism, we should adopt that remedy, and seek no other.

Judge CONWAY followed. His speech was characterized by his usual vigor and force of reasoning, and he advocated at length the voting policy. He urged his friends to go into the election, and if defeated to adopt other means to defeat the Constitution. The Judge replied to several positions of Mr. Ewing, which called out Mr. E. in reply.

Mr. WALDEN followed with a lengthy speech against voting. Our space compels us to omit it.

Dr. Robinson was called for. He said, I wish it distinctly understood that I am as much in favor of the Topeka Constitution as any man, and in favor of the resolutions of the 2d of December. The resolutions of the 2d of December say that the election of the 4th is a misdemeanor and a crime. It was never designed by the draftsman of that resolution that we should not go into the election. But it is not a backing down. Were it so, I conceive it no crime to change my position with changing circumstances. If an army was drawn up, and they should attack me in the rear, I should feel not to attack them there. It will not do to talk about consistency at this time. We are not trying to divide up into all the different divisions of society, but are laboring for the triumph of the main question. I am not for shaping my course so as to divide the Democratic party, nor to build up the Republican party. We must learn to take care of ourselves. Others argue up to the stone wall, but no farther. Who cares what wise distinctions Douglas, and Forney, and Walker may make on this question.

It is painful when I think of our history. There is the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the furries which followed. Why, good God, there was more opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law than there is to the Leavenworth Swindle, and yet we hear little about it now.

If the Leavenworth Constitution is taken possession of, we can defeat it; and we will do it. It is said we will get slimed all over. If an officer who should be ordered to take possession of a battery should say that there was a mud puddle before it, and he should get muddled if he undertook to take it! Would you not say he ought to be buried under it? Let us go into the election for State officers. Let our platform be, *THE PEOPLE AGAINST USURPATION*, we can vindicate our sovereignty at the ballot-box. It is said that the administration are afraid of blood. It is nonsense. They only seek an excuse to hang a few of us.

JIM LANE, in whom we all have so great confidence, has never fought the United States and will not. He knows his position too well. There are eight regiments on their way to Utah. They will stop in Kansas until this question is disposed of. The people of Leavenworth, and of the South, and of other portions of the Territory will not join us in a fight against the government. Why I was in Boston a few years ago, and saw the streets filled with crazy men, who were outraged at the returning of Burns to slavery. A little company of United States marines came up and the crowd who were rolling out great oaths receded before it. There were not sixteen men in all Boston who could be found to stand up and deliver Cottle to the negroes for summary punishment.

I know it is unpopular to talk this way. If I wished to make a popular speech I would stand up here and defy all creation, and "pitch in!" (Cheers.) You all remember the case of the bull and the locomotive. Had the bull shown as much

discretion as he did valor, instead of getting pitched off the bank, he would have torn up a few rails with his horns and watched at a distance the locomotive as it ran off the track. Can't we learn a lesson from the bull, and in place of displaying so much bravery, exhibit a little more judgment.

Governors and Senators in the States have written us, urging us to take this position, and go into the election and we must do it, and must triumph.

Do as you will, I go with the majority, but I wish the world to understand that my voice is in favor of action. I censure no man, nor accuse no man; but I do feel that it is necessary for us to work if we want our freedom.

The Committee on resolutions reported. Gen. POMEROY moved they be sent back to the committee for review, which was carried.

S. N. WOOD said he was decidedly in favor of voting, and spoke with much force in favor of that line of policy.

Mr. SPEER offered a resolution to test the different views in relation to voting for State officers.

While this resolution was pending, the Convention adjourned. It was afterwards called to order, but no fixed action was taken on the motions, or reports pending before it.

"The remarks of Doctor Robinson, as quoted above, do him injustice, and place him falsely upon the record." If quoted in full, it would appear that he said "I go with the majority, when fairly expressed." The majority of the delegates cast their votes in favor of voting; and many of those who did vote against voting did so under a misapprehension of facts, and still others by a trick which was practiced on the Convention, while others held seats by fraud who assumed to speak for constituents whom they had never seen, without a particle of authority for doing so. It is reported that the Doctor says, had not an unworthy trick been practiced on the Convention its action would have been very different, and that he does not censure those who have put in nomination a ticket; on the contrary we have reasons to believe he will give the ticket his enthusiastic support.

## Delegate Convention at Lawrence.

The Delegate Convention, which met in Lawrence on the 21 of December, reconvened, agreeably to a call of the Territorial Executive Committee, at the Congregational Church, in Lawrence, on Wednesday, the 23d of December, at 10 o'clock, Dr. Robinson, in the chair.

Convention called to order at 10 o'clock, A. M. A new committee on credentials was appointed; also a committee on resolutions.

The Convention remained in session two days, during all of which time an animated discussion was kept up, limiting the speakers, the most of the time on the last day, to ten minutes. Messrs. Schuyler, Hanna, Vaughan, Conway, Judge Davis, Dr. Robinson, G. W. Smith, Emery, W. Y. Roberts, Mr. Winchell, Dr. Hall, Ewing, Pomero, Noteware, O. C. Brown, E. Heath, J. A. Wakefield; and, in short, nearly all the prominent old settlers and active Free State men in Kansas advocated the voting policy, while the movement was opposed by Hinton, Thatcher, and those who were opposed to voting in October, and who have been an incubus upon the Free State party ever since their connection with it.

A vote was taken on the afternoon of the second day by a call of yeas and nays, presenting the naked issue of voting or not voting. The following gentlemen recorded their names in favor of voting, to wit:

C. Vaughan, John Kendall, G. R. Buell, S. J. Anthony, John McKee, G. E. Keller, Dr. J. Davis, J. F. Stoble, J. H. Noteware, W. W. Backus, Dr. Baddington, Mr. Bliss, W. Y. Roberts, Judge McKay, Mr. Winchell, Stephen Sparks, Mr. Pennock, A. Allen, Mr. Hartman, S. C. Pomero, James Redpath, F. G. Adams, Morris Hunt, C. B. Ellis, W. Hosford, O. C. Brown, John Hanna, B. F. Simpson, T. J. Hedges, A. Wattles, E. Heath, W. McFarland, J. A. Wakefield, H. Appleman, G. C. Boardman, John Doy, G. W. Smith, James McGee, C. Robinson, G. W. Highland, J. W. Roberts, A. Polley, W. S. Hibbard, P. Fuller, Wm. Austin, J. K. Goodin, H. D. Hibbard—47.

J. C. Green, R. J. Elliott, A. Cutler, J. M. Walden, Dr. Root, H. Stratton, Joseph Thompson, A. A. Jamison, H. S. Rymal, J. F. Hillyer, Dr. J. Gobbe, G. W. Parker, J. P. Legate, T. D. Thatcher, Jas. Blood, S. W. Eldridge, N. W. Spicer, W. Hutchinson, G. F. Warren, S. F. Tappen, Geo. Ford, W. Jesse, C. P. Twiss, M. S. Bonfield, P. H. Townsend, J. F. Hill, W. W. Ross, Rev. Holliday, J. Pitsley, W. Oakly, J. M. Armstrong, R. J. Hinton, L. B. Bailey, C. B. Lines, J. R. Bisbee, J. F. Carver, N. J. Caniff, W. N. Shedd, S. S. Prouty, G. A. Cutler, W. W. Clemison, W. W. Griswold, B. W. Woodward, G. Dudley, Nays, 44.

By an arrangement the vote was counted by districts, by which one or more persons cast the entire vote of his district. In this manner the result was made to appear as but 64 yeas, to 75 nays, and on this result the Delegate Convention resolved not to engage in the election, although a majority of the delegates, as they actually recorded their names decided in favor of the voting policy.

Gov. Roberts showed how the result

had been obtained, by persons voting from districts who held certificates of election of the character of the Oxford election returns, and by persons who did not reside in the districts for which they voted, who did not correctly represent the position of their constituents, and he gave notice that he, nor his friends, did not feel bound by the decision of the convention which, if submitted to, he apprehended would bind us for all time to the slave power. He requested those in favor of voting to meet at Masonic Hall to consult in regard to putting in nomination a ticket.

The convention adjourned till evening. But the life of it was gone. Those who had directed the Free State party for freedom since its organization, had left the few, who, by dint of energy, had got control of the Convention, and gradually it dwindled away until it "fizzled all out," not a dozen remaining when the motion was made to adjourn.

The following proceedings will show where they had gone to, and their resolution not to be defrauded of every honorable means to defeat the usurpations of the slave power.

## Mass Meeting—Anti-Usurpation Ticket Nominated.

A mass meeting of persons in favor of voting at the election on the 4th of January next, was held at Lawrence on the 24th inst, to put in nomination officers under the Leavenworth Constitution, with a view of controlling its action. On motion of Robert Morrow, Esq., Dr. JAS. DAVIS, of Leavenworth, was called to the Chair; Messrs. S. C. Pomero, P. C. Schuyler, G. W. Smith, S. N. Wood, H. D. Hall, John Hanna, H. Appleman, Judge Passmore, of Coffey county, E. Heath, R. Morrow, G. W. Zinn, Judge McKay, W. W. Backus were appointed Vice Presidents; WM. AUSTIN, of the Kansas Leader, and D. H. Weir, Esq., of Lawrence, were elected Secretaries.

The object of the meeting was stated by the President. He said the people throughout the Territory had determined to vote on the 4th of January against the Leavenworth Swindle, under the act of our Territorial Legislature. The people would be in attendance at the polls on that day. There was danger of our being forced into the Union by Congress under that Constitution. If no votes were cast for Free State men for the various offices under that instrument, the vile advocates of that gigantic usurpation would elect their officers under it, and then the power would be out of the hands of the people to help themselves. Though there were not one hundred men in the Territory of Kansas who favored that grand swindle, yet, with the officers in their hands, and the Federal Government pledged to sustain it, we could not throw it off. A good ticket composed of well known and true Free State men, on a liberal platform, would unite all the elements in the Territory which are opposed to that monstrosity, and with the feeling he had everywhere seen in the Territory for the last few months to discard the do-nothing policy, he had no doubt the ticket would be triumphantly elected. True, said he, the time is short, and it is difficult to organize, but it becomes important that we work the harder. [Cheers.]

A committee was appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, as follows: THOMAS EWING, of Leavenworth; P. C. Schuyler, Burlingame; E. S. Lowman, Lawrence; W. Y. Roberts, Wyandott; J. K. Goodin, Centropolis.

E. HEATH followed in a clear and logical speech of some length, carrying with him the conviction of every listener in favor of the voting policy. We neglected to report him at length.

After consultation the Committee on resolutions reported the platform which stands at the head of our columns.

G. W. BROWN, Esq., was called for. He said he had long since resolved to vote whenever there was a hope of accomplishing anything by it for freedom, and he would do it. No set of men who were opposed to voting should tie his hands. He had vowed before Heaven that no effort of his should be wanting to make Kansas a Free State. It had been represented that the people were opposed to voting, and in the late Delegate Convention a resolution against voting had been adopted, on account of the character of the representation from the districts. The six votes of Coffey county had been cast by B. W. Woodward of Lawrence, and G. A. Cutler of Topeka. These men know nothing of the wishes of the people there, Judge PASSMORE, who is here, was elected Judge of Probate of that county by Free State men at the October election.—The Judge says that nearly all the people there are in favor of voting, and will be disappointed if no ticket is nominated. The vote of Breckinridge county was cast against voting by R. J. Hinton, and a few others who know nothing of the popular feeling there. He had assurances from leading men from that county that they were in favor of voting, and their past

position would confirm him in those assurances. Doniphan county, with sixteen votes, was cast against voting by only three delegates, and yet the Free State voters of that county have called a Convention to nominate Representatives to the Senate and House of Representatives. Had the vote of those three districts been cast in the Delegate Convention, agreeably to the views of the people, there would have been more than a two-thirds vote in favor of voting; while of the persons actually in attendance and who voted by yeas and nays, a majority was given in favor of voting, as a reference to the official vote in possession of the Secretaries of that Convention fully shows.

A Convention of Anti-usurpation Democrats, made up of Free State Democrats, and Pro-slavery Democrats, who sympathize with the position of Gov. WALKER, and who hate this Leavenworth monstrosity, are holding a Convention at Leavenworth to-day. Had the Free State men made a nomination on a liberal platform, they would have endorsed our ticket, and aided to elect it, with a view of defeating the Calhoun disunionists. They had their messenger here in waiting to carry the result of our action there. We hoped still, instead of making a nomination they would only appoint a Committee to make one in case we did not. If we make no nomination they will, and those Free State men who desire to vote will be compelled to choose between the nominations of the usurpation wing of the Democracy, and that wing which is opposed to usurpation. While if we have a ticket of tried and true Free State men we cannot only vote for them, but the anti-usurpation branch of the Democracy will vote for them. The consequence will be, instead of getting strength from our opponents we add in building up a new Democratic party which we will be compelled by and to destroy.

There is a strong opposition with some against voting; but we have sufficient numbers to triumph over the enemies of freedom by more than two to one, notwithstanding the determination of some not to engage in this election.

After remarks in favor of nominating a ticket by Messrs. Morrow, Schuyler, Smith, Pomero, Wood, Osborn, McKay, Backus and others, and the adoption of the resolutions by a unanimous vote, the following ticket was put in nomination, to wit:

For Governor, GEORGE W. SMITH, of Lawrence; for Lieut. Governor, WM. Y. ROBERTS, of Wyandott; for Secretary of State, P. C. SCHUYLER, of Burlingame; for Treasurer, ANDREW J. MEAD, of Manhattan; for Auditor, JOEL K. GOODIN, of Centropolis; for Congress, MARCUS J. PARROTT, of the Territory.

Mr. BROWN said he had nominated a ticket which would be a credit to any convention. Judge SMITH had been identified with the Free State men and cause from the hour he landed in Kansas, in the spring of 1855, and he had done as much hard work, and labored with as good success for the triumph of our principles as any man in the Territory. He had been on the Executive Committee with him, which organized the Topeka Constitution, he had been confined on the prairies of Kansas as a prisoner on a charge of treason with him for four months; he had served with him on the Territorial Committee, which had passed through the election and triumphed in October, and everywhere he had found him the man of all men who seemed the man for the crisis. Lieut. Gov. W. Y. ROBERTS had been before the people of Kansas, and too often endorsed by them, and too well known as the chairman of nearly all our important public meetings, commencing at Big Springs, and down to the Grasshopper Falls Convention; to need any eulogium from him. He is the Lieut. Governor under the Topeka Constitution, and just the man to aid in killing the Leavenworth Swindle. P. C. SCHUYLER as Secretary of State. He holds the same office under the Topeka government, was a member of the Territorial Executive Committee, and his name is as well known to the whole people of Kansas as any person in the Territory. His undimmed fidelity to the cause of freedom and the people has never been doubted. A. J. MEAD for Treasurer. He is a member of the present Territorial Council, elected from the Manhattan district, and is deservedly popular with all who know him. JOEL K. GOODIN was the able and efficient secretary of the first Executive Committee, which did more real hard work than any other Committee ever organized in Kansas. He was the Clerk of the Senate under the Topeka Constitution, and is now principal Clerk of the Council in the Territorial Legislature. Judge SMITH was a distinguished criminal lawyer in Pennsylvania. Gov. ROBERTS is well acquainted with Constitutional law. These men, with their legal learning, can help us out of our troubles if there is any way out of them, and they will contrive some way to defeat this damnable conspiracy of the Pro-slavery men to defraud the people of their rights.

A Territorial Executive Committee, consisting of S. N. Wood, G. W. Brown, E. S. Lowman, Robert Morrow D. H. Weir and E. Heath, of Lawrence; Wm. Austin, Centropolis; O. F. Short, Atchison; Mr. Passmore of Coffey county; A. Danford, Linn Co.; Jas. Davis, C. F. Currier, Leavenworth; Judge McKAY, Wyandott; Dr. Gilpatrick, Pottawatomie; C. V. Eskridge, Emporia; Jas. Rodgers, Burlingame, and S. D. Houston of Manhattan, were appointed, any five of whom were to constitute a quorum for business.

On motion the Free State newspapers of Kansas were invited to publish these proceedings at length.

Adjourned sine die.

JAMES DAVIS, Pres't.

WM. AUSTIN, Sec'taries.

D. H. WEIR, Sec'taries.

Let us All Unite.

The question at issue in the election on the 4th of January next, is not simply freedom or slavery for Kansas, as is popularly understood by a statement of that question—but it has assumed that other shape: Shall the people form their own institutions, and have a voice in making their fundamental law. The question in short, is the People against Usurpation.—The Free State organization in the past, only embraces a portion of those who are now with us in our hostility to the Leavenworth Swindle. Many persons connected with the Democratic party, and who have held themselves aloof from us, are now willing to join hands with us in putting down this swindle. Not they only, but a large number of conservative Pro-slavery men, who were in favor of the people ruling, are with us.

To organize as a distinctive Free State party, excluding all others from us, would be to greatly reduce our strength. We need the aid of every voter in this Territory, to give as much moral as well as legal force as possible to our position.—To drive from us a single man in this extremity, is to weaken us that far, and do us no good.

At Big Springs we formed an alliance, and there were united "Whigs Democrats, Free Soilers, and Americans." Now in defense of a common principle. Now with the whole question of self-government at issue, and the freedom of Kansas, and the whole West still pending, it will be wise for us to learn wisdom from that event, and widen our circle so as to include ALL. Let that circle be contracted as new issues are made, driving out antagonistic elements, or dissolving entirely, and falling back upon old issues, and old organizations.

When we have a great work to do we can do it better by uniting our strength than we can single handed. The more who combine the easier the task, and the sooner the work is executed. The greater the discord, the greater the probability of a defeat. The Republican party is but an aggregation of different views, uniting on a few common questions, with no bond of union between them only as far as grows out of those questions. The same is true of the Democratic party. Divergent it is of the motto that "To the Victor belong the spoils;" and it would soon be a party of the past. The common bond with us in Kansas, at this time, is, and should be, hostility to the Leavenworth Swindle. To defeat that, we will labor hand in hand with the most inveterate enemy of the Free State cause; will even join hands with Senator DOUGLAS, and others whom we have looked upon in the past as traitors to freedom. True, we may watch them closely, and they may say, for ought we care; but we will assure them that they will not find our end of the lever laid down until the wheel is fairly out of the mire.

Reader, is not this the true position for us to occupy? Not to abandon a single outpost we have taken, not to surrender a single gun, or divulge any part of our defenses; but to form a new alliance to defeat a common enemy; and then, if we please, engage again in the pleasant past-time of cutting each other's throats! If you second our views, aid us at this time in perfecting this new union, making our circle so large that none shall be driven outside the ring who unite with us in abhorrence of the Leavenworth Swindle.

## Election Districts.

At the first election held under the Constitution, for members of the State Legislature, the representative and senatorial districts shall be as follows:

1st Representative District shall consist of Doniphan County, and shall be entitled to 4 Rep's.

2d.	Atchison,	4
3d.	Leavenworth,	8
4th.	Brown and Nemaha,	1
5th.	Calhoun & Pottawatomie,	1
6th.	Jefferson,	2
7th.	Marshall & Washington,	1
8th.	Riley,	1
9th.	Johnson,	4
10th.	Lykens,	1
11th.	Linn,	2
12th.	Bourbon,	2
13th.	McGee, Dorn and Allen,	1
14th.	Douglas,	5
15th.	Anderson and Franklin,	1
16th.	Shawnee,	2
17th.	Weller and Coffey,	1
18th.	Woodson, Wilson, Greenwood, Go-frey and Madison,	1
19th.	Breckinridge and Richardson,	1
20th.	Davis, Wise, Butler, Hunter and country west,	1

Total No. of Representatives, 44

1st Senatorial District, Doniphan, 1 Sen'r.

2d.	Atchison,	1
3d.	Doniphan and Atchison,	1
4th.	Leavenworth,	3
5th.	Brown, Nemaha and Pottawatomie,	1
6th.	Riley, Marshall, Dickerson and Washington,	1
7th.	Jefferson and Calhoun,	1
8th.	Johnson,	2
9th.	Lykens, Anderson, and Franklin,	1
10th.	Linn,	1
11th.	Bourbon and McGee,	1
12th.	Douglas,	2
13th.	Shawnee,	1
14th.	Dorn, Allen, Wilson, Woodson, Godfrey, Greenwood, Madison and Coffey,	1
15th.	Richardson, Davis, Wise, Breckinridge, Butler, Hunter, and all west of Davis, Wise, Butler and Hunter,	1

Total No. of Senators, 19

## Anti-Usurpation Ticket. Anti-Usurpation Ticket. Anti-Usurpation Ticket. Anti-Usurpation Ticket. Anti-Usurpation Ticket. Anti-Usurpation Ticket. Anti-Usurpation Ticket.

Governor,  
**George W. Smith.**  
Lieutenant Governor,  
**Wm. Y. Roberts.**  
Secretary of State,  
**Phillip C. Schuyler.**  
State Treasurer,  
**Andrew J. Mead.**  
Auditor,  
**Joel K. Goodin.**  
For Congress,  
**Marcus J. Parrott.**